JANUARY, 1788. THE NUMB. 3009.

PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 30, 1788.

STATE of CONNECTICUT.
In CONVENTION, January 4.
(Continued from our paper of the 23d inst.)

DR. Johnson rose after Mr. Ellsworth and expressed himself to the following purpose.

My Honorable Friend has represented to us the miserable State, which we are in with respect to our public affairs. It is a melancholy picture; but not too highly drawn. Our commerce is annihilated; our national honor, once in so high esteem, is no more. We have got to the very brink of ruin; we must turn back, and adopt a new system. The gentleman's arguments have demonstrated that a principle of coercion is absolutely necessary, if we would have a union to answer any beneficial purposes. All ancient leagues have had this principle. Holland has in fact had it. When a dutch province has neglected to furnish her quota for the national expence, taxes have been levied by an army. It was necessary that each province should be compelled to pay her part. But how was this effected? There was no other way but by force of arms, a method most dangerous to the public tranquility.

Under our old confederation, each State was bound by the most solemn obligations to pay its proportion of the national expence. If any State did not perform what it had so solemnly promised, it became a transgressor. It did an injury to the other States, to which it had plighted its faith for the performance of what it had stipulated in the articles of confederation. The other States have a right to redress; they have a right by the law of nature and nations to insist upon, and compel a performance. How shall this be done? There is no other way but by force of arms. What is the consequence? This way of enforcing fœderal decrees leads directly to civil war and national ruin. This was the case with the ancient leagues. The States in confederacy were bound by compact, to bear certain proportions of the public burdens. Some of the States were delinquent; they failed in performing their stipulations. This injurious conduct provoked the others, they had recourse to arms for redress. While they were thus involved in civil war, neighbouring powers took advantage of it, and availed themselves of the forces of a part to subdue the rest. Such is the nature of this kind of confederacies, that the general decrees must either remain without efficacy, or be put in execution by a military force.

The Convention saw this imperfection in attempting to legislate for States, in their political capacity; that the coercion of Law can be exercised by nothing but a military force. They have therefore gone upon entirely new ground. They have formed one new nation out of the individual States. The constitution, vests in the general legislature a power to make laws in matters of national concern; to appoint Judges to decide upon these laws; and to appoint officers to carry them into execution. This excludes the idea of an armed force. The power, which is to enforce these laws, is to be a legal power vested in proper magistrates. The forces which is to be employed, is the energy of law; and this force is to operate only upon individuals, who fail in their duty to their country. This is the peculiar glory of the constitution, that it depends upon the mild and equal energy of the magistracy for the execution of the laws. The convention have framed a system of government, and now submit it to the wisdom of their country. We address ourselves, not to your passions, but to your reason; we speak as to wise men. Judge ye what we say. As to the old system, we can go no further with it; experience has shewn it to be utterly inefficient. The States were sensible of this, to remedy the evil they appointed the convention. Though no enthusiast, I cannot but impute it to a signal intervention of divine providence, that a convention from States differing in circumstances, interests, and manners, should be so harmonious in adopting one grand system. If we reject a plan of government, which with such favourable circumstances is offered for our acceptance, I fear our national existence must come to a final end.

MONDAY, January 7.

The paragraph which respects taxes, imposts and excises, was largely debated, by several Gentlemen.

Gen. Wadsworth objected against it, because it gave the power of the purse to the general Legislature; another paragraph gave the power of the sword; and that authority, which has the power of the sword and purse, is despotic. He objected against imposts and excises, because their operation would be partial and in favor of the southern States. Some other objections were likewise made against this paragraph. In answer to them Mr. Ellsworth expressed himself nearly to the following effect.

Mr. President, This is a most important clause in the constitution; and the Gentlemen do well to offer all the objections which they have against it. Through the whole of this debate, I have attended to the objections which have been made against this clause; and I think them all to be be unfounded. The clause is general, it gives the general Legislature "power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States." There are three objections against this clause. First, that it is too extensive, it extends to all the objects of taxation; secondly that it is partial; thirdly, that Congress ought not to have power to lay taxes at all.

The first objection is that this clause extends to all the objects of taxation. But, though it does extend to all, it does not extend to them exclusively. It does not say that Congress shall have all these sources of revenue, and the States none. All, excepting the impost, still lie open to the States. This State owes a debt, it must provide for the payment of it. So do all the other States. This will not escape the attention of Congress. When making calculations to raise a revenue, they will bear this in mind. They will not take away that which is necessary for the States. They are the head, and will take care that the members do not perish. The State debt, which now lies heavy upon us arose, from the want of powers in the fœderal system. Give the necessary powers to the national government, and the State will not be again necessitated to involve itself in debt for its defence in war. It will lie upon the national government to defend all the States, to defend all its members, from hostile attacks. The United States will bear the whole burthen of war. It is necessary, that the power of the general Legislature should extend to all the objects of taxation, that government should be able to command all the resorces of the country; because no man can tell what our exigencies may be. Wars have now become rather war of the purse, than of the sword. Government must therefore be able to command the whole power of the purse, otherwise a hostile nation may look into our constitution, see what resources are in the power of government, and calculate to go a little beyond us, there they may obtain a decided superiority over us, and reduce us to the utmost distress. A government, which can command but half its resources, is like a man with but one arm to defend himself.

The second objection is that the impost is not a proper mode of taxation; that it is partial to the southern States. I confess I am mortified, when I find gentlemen supposing that their delegates in convention were inattentive to their duty, and made a sacrifice of the interests of their constituents. If however the impost be a partial mode, this circumstance, high as my opinion of it is, would stagger my belief in it, for I abhor partiality. But I think there are three special reasons, why an impost is the best way of raising a national revenue.

The first is, it is the most fruitful and easy way. All nations have found it to be so. Direct taxation can go but little way towards raising a revenue. To raise money in this way, people must be provident; they must be constantly laying up money to answer the demands of the collector. But you cannot make people thus provident, if you would do any thing to purpose, you must come in when they are spending, and take a part with them. This does not take away the tools of a man's business, or the necessary utensils of his family: It only comes in, when he is taking his pleasure, and feels generous, when he is laying out a shilling for superfluities, it takes two-pence of it for public use, and the remainder will do him as much good as the whole. I will instance two facts, which shew how easily and insensibly a revenue is raised by indirect taxation. I suppose people in general are not sensible, that we pay a tax to the State of New York. Yet it is an uncontrovertible fact, that we the people of Connecticut pay annually into the Treasury of New-York more than fifty Thousand Dollars. Another instance I will mention: One of our common river sloops pays in the West-Indies a Portage Bill of 60l. This is a tax which foreigners lay upon us and we pay it. For a duty laid upon our shipping which transports our produce to foreign markets, sinks the price of our produce, and operates as an effectual tax upon those who till the ground, and bring the fruits of it to market. All nations have seen the necessity and propriety of raising a revenue by indirect taxation, by duties upon articles of consumption. France raises a revenue of 24 Millions Sterling per annum, and it is chiefly in this way. 50 Millions of Livres they raise upon the single article of Salt. The Swiss cantons raise almost the whole of their revenue upon Salt. Those States purchase all the Salt which is to be used in the country; they sell it out to the people at an advanced price; the advance is the revenue of the country. In England the whole public revenue is about 12 Millions Sterling per annum. The land tax amounts to about 2 Millions, the window and some other taxes to about two millions more. The other 8 Millions is raised upon articles of consumption. The whole standing army of Great Britain, could not enforce the collection of this vast sum by direct taxation. In Holland their prodigious taxes amounting to forty shillings for each inhabitant, are levied chiefly upon articles of comsumption. They excise every thing, not excepting even their houses of infamy.

The experiments, which have been made in our own country, shew the productive nature of indirect taxes. The imports into the United States amount to a very large sum. They never will be less, but will continue to increase for ages and centuries to come. As the population of our country increases, the impost will necessarily increase. They will increase because our citizens will choose to be farmers living independently on their freeholds, rather than to be manufacturers, and work for a groat a day. I find by calculation, that a general impost of 5 per cent would raise the sum of 245,000l. per annum, deducting 8 per cent for the charges of collecting. A further sum might be deducted for smuggling, a business which is understood too well among us, and which is looked upon in too favourable a light. But this loss in the public revenue will be over balanced by the increase of importations. And a further sum may be reckoned upon some articles, which will bear a higher duty than the one recommended by Congress. Rum, instead of 4d, per gallon, may be set higher, without any detriment to our health or morals. In England it pays a duty of 4s 6d. the gallon. Now let us compare this source of revenue with our national wants. The interest of the foreign debt is 130,000l. lawful money per annum. The expence of the civil list is 37,000l. There are likewise further expences, for maintaining the frontier posts for the support of those who have been disabled in the service of the Continent, and some other contingencies, amounting together with the civil list to 130,000l. This sum added to the interest of the foreign debt will be 260,000l. The consequence follows, that the avails of the impost will pay the interest of the whole foreign debt, and nearly satisfy these current national expences. But perhaps it will be said, that these paper calculations are overdone, and that the real avails will fall far short. Let me point out then what has actually been done. In only three of the States, in Massachusetts, New-York, and Pennsylvania, 160, or 180,000l. per annum have been raised by impost. From this fact we may certainly conclude, that, if a general impost should be laid, it would raise a greater sum than I have calculated. It is a strong argument in favor of an impost, that the collection of it will interfere less with the internal police of the states, than any other species of taxation. It does not fill the country with revenue officers, but is confined to the sea coast, and is chiefly a water operation. Another weighty reason in favor of this branch of revenue is, if we do not give it to Congress, the individual States will have it.

It will give some states an opportunity of oppressing others, and destroy all harmony between them. If we would have the states friendly to each other, let us take away this bone of contention, and place it, as it ought in justice to be placed, in the hands of the general government.

But says an honorable gentleman near me, the impost will be a partial tax; the southern states will pay but little in comparison with the Nothern. I ask, what reason is there for this assertion? Why says he, we live in a cold climate, and want warming. Do not they live in a hot climate, and want quenching? Until you get as far south as the Carolinas, there is no material difference in the quantity of cloathing which is worn. In Virginia they have the same course of cloathing that we have. In Carolina, they have a great deal of cold, raw, chilly weather: even in Georgia, the river Savannah has been crossed upon the ice. And if they do not wear quite so great a quantity of cloathing in those states as with us; yet people of rank wear that which is of a much more expensive kind. In these States, we manufacture one half of our cloathing and all our tools of Husbandry; in those, they manufacture none, nor ever will. They will not manufacture, because they find it much more profitable to cultivate their lands which are exceedingly fertile. Hence they import almost every thing, not excepting the carriages in which they ride, the hoes with which they till the ground, and the Boots which they wear. If we doubt of the extent of their importations, let us look at their exports. So exceedingly fertile and profitable are their lands, that a hundred large ships are every year loaded with rice and indigo from the single port of Charlestown. The rich returns of these cargoes of immense value will be all subject to the impost. Nothing is omitted, a duty is to be paid upon the books which they import. From Virginia their exports are valued at a million sterling per annum; the single article of tobacco amounts to seven or eight hundred thousand. How does this come back? not in money, for the Virginians are poor to a proverb in money. They anticipate their crops; they spend faster than they earn; they are ever in debt. Their rich exports return in eatables, in drinkables, in wearables. All these are subject to the impost. In Maryland their exports are as great in proportion as those in Virginia. The imports and exports of the southern states are quite as great in proportion as those of the northern. Where then exists this partiality, which has been objected? It exists no where but in the uniformed mind.

But there is one objection Mr. President, which is broad enough to cover the whole subject. Says the objector, Congress ought not to have power to raise any money at all. Why? Because they have the power of the sword, and if we give them the power of the purse, they are despotic. But I ask, Sir, was there ever a government without the power of the sword and the purse? This is not a new coined phrase, but it is misapplied; it belongs to quite another subject. It was brought into use in Great-Britain, where they have a king vested with hereditary power. Here, say they, it is dangerous to place the power of the sword and the purse in the hands of one man, who claims an authority independent of the people. Therefore we will have a parliament. But the king and parliament together, the supreme power of the nation, they have the sword and the purse. And they must have both, else how could the country be defended? For the sword without the purse is of no effect, it is a sword in the scabbard. But does it follow, because it is dangerous to give the power of the sword and the purse to a hereditary prince, who is independent of the people, that therefore, it is dangerous to give it to the parliament, to congress which is your parliament, to men appointed by yourselves, and dependent upon yourselves? This argument amounts to this, you must cut a man in two in the middle, to prevent his hurting himself.

But says the honorable objector, if Congress levy money, they must legislate. I admit it. Two legislative powers, says he, cannot exist together in the same place. I ask why can they not? It is not enough to say they cannot. I wish for some reason. I grant that both cannot legislate upon the same object, at the same time, and carry into effect laws which are contrary to each other. But the constitution excludes every thing of this kind. Each legislature has its province; their limits may be distinguished. If they will run foul of each other, if they will be trying who has the hardest head, it cannot be helped. The road is broad enough, but if two men will jostle each other, the fault is not in the road. Two several legislatures have in fact existed, and acted at the same time in the same territory, it is in vain to say they cannot exist, when they actually have done it. In the time of the war we had an army. Who made the laws for the army? By whose authority were offenders tried and executed? Congress was the power. By their authority a man was taken, tried, condemned and hanged in this very town. He belonged to the army; he was a proper subject of military law; he deserted to the enemy; he deserved his fate. Wherever the army was, in what ever state, there Congress had complete legislative, judicial and executive power. This very spot where we now are, is a city. It has complete legislative, judicial and executive powers: It is a complete state in miniature. Yet it breeds no confusion, it makes no schism. The city has not eat up the state, nor the state the city. But if this is a new city, if it has not had time to un old its principles, I will instance the city of New York, which is and long has been an important part of that state, it has been found beneficial, its powers and privileges have not clashed with the state. The city of London contains three or four times as many inhabitants as the whole state of Connecticut: It has extensive powers of government, and it makes no interference with the general government of the kingdom.

This constitution defines the extent of the powers of the general government. If the general legislature should at any time overleap their limits, the judicial department is a constitutional check. If the United States go beyond their powers, if they make a law which the constitution does not authorise, it is void; and the judicial power, the national judges, who to secure their impartiality are to be made independant, will declare it to be void. On the other hand, if the states go beyond their limits if they make a law which is an usurpation upon the general government, the law is void, and upright independent judges will declare it to be so. Still, however, if the United States and the individual states will quarrel, if they want to fight, they may do it, and no frame of government can possibly prevent it. It is sufficient for this constitution that, so far from laying them under a necessity of contending, it provides every reasonable check against it. But perhaps at some time or other there will be a contest, the states may rise against the general go-

vernment. If this does take place, if all the ſtates combine, if all oppoſe, the whole will not eat up the members, but the meaſure which is oppoſed to the ſenſe of the people will prove abortive. In republics, it is a fundamental principle, that the majority govern, and that the minority comply with the general voice. How contrary then to republican principles, how humilitating is our preſent ſituation. A ſingle ſtate can riſe up, and put a *veto* upon the moſt important public meaſures. We have ſeen this actually taken place, a ſingle ſtate has controuled the general voice of the union, a minority, a very ſmall minority has governed us. So far is this from being conſiſtent with republican principles, that it is in effect the worſt ſpecies of monarchy.

[To be continued.]

From the NEW-YORK PACKET.

The FŒDERALIST, No. XIII.

To the PEOPLE *of the State of* NEW-YORK.

AS connected with the ſubject of revenue, we may with propriety conſider that of œconomy. The money ſaved from one object may be uſefully applied to another; and there will be ſo much the leſs to be drawn from the pockets of the people. If the ſtates are united under one government, there will be but one national civil liſt to ſupport; if they are divided into ſeveral confederacies, there will be as many different national civil liſts to be provided for; and each of them, as to the principal departments, co-extenſive with that which would be neceſſary for a government of the whole. The entire ſeparation of the ſtates into thirteen unconnected ſovereignties is a project too extravagant and too replete with danger to have many advocates. The ideas of men who ſpeculate upon the diſmemberment of the empire, ſeem generally turned towards three confederacies; one conſiſting of the four northern, another of the four middle, and a third of the five ſouthern ſtates. There is little probability that there would be a greater number. According to this diſtribution, each confederacy would compriſe an extent of territory larger than that of the kingdom of Great-Britain. No well informed man will ſuppoſe that the affairs of ſuch a confederacy can be properly regulated by a government leſs comprehenſive, in its organs or inſtitutions, than that, which has been propoſed by the Convention. When the dimenſions of a ſtate, attain to a certain magnitude, it requires the ſame energy of government and the ſame forms of adminiſtration, which are requiſite in one of much greater extent. This idea admits not of preciſe demonſtration, becauſe there is no rule by which we can meaſure the momentum of civil power, neceſſary to the government of any given number of individuals; but when we conſider that the iſland of Britain, nearly commenſurate with each of the ſuppoſed confederacies, contains about eight millions of people, and when we reflect upon the degree of authority required to direct the paſſions of ſo large a ſociety to the public good, we ſhall ſee no reaſon to doubt that the like portion of power would be ſufficient to perform the ſame taſk in a ſociety far more numerous. Civil power properly organiſed and exerted is capable of diffuſing its force to a very great extent; and can in a manner reproduce itſelf in every part of a great empire by a judicious arrangement of ſubordinate inſtitutions.

The ſuppoſition, that each confederacy into which the ſtates would be likely to be divided, would require a government not leſs comprehenſive than the one propoſed, will be ſtrengthened by another ſuppoſition more probable than that which preſents us with three confederacies as the alternative to a general union. If we attend carefully to geographical and commercial conſiderations, in conjunction with the habits and prejudices of the different ſtates, we ſhall be led to conclude, that in caſe of diſunion they will moſt naturally league under two governments. The four eaſtern ſtates, from all the cauſes that form the links of national ſympathy and connection, may with certainty be expected to unite. New-York, ſituated as ſhe is, would never be unwiſe enough to oppoſe a feeble and unſupported flank to the weight of that confederacy. There are obvious reaſons, that would facilitate her acceſſion to it. New-Jerſey is too ſmall a ſtate to think of being a frontier in oppoſition to this ſtill more powerful combination; nor do there appear to be any obſtacles to her admiſſion into it. Even Pennſylvania would have ſtrong inducements to join the northern league. An active foreign commerce on the baſis of her own navigation is her true policy, and coincides with the opinions and diſpoſitions of her citizens. The more ſouthern ſtates, from various circumſtances, may not think themſelves much intereſted in the encouragement of navigation. They may prefer a ſyſtem, which would give unlimited ſcope to all nations, to be the carriers as well as the purchaſers of their commodities. Pennſylvania may not chooſe to confound her intereſts in a connection ſo adverſe to her policy. As ſhe muſt at all events be a frontier, ſhe may deem it moſt conſiſtent with her ſafety to have her expoſed ſide turned towards the weaker power of the ſouthern, rather than towards the ſtronger power of the northern confederacy. This would give her the faireſt chance to avoid being the FLANDERS of America. Whatever may be the determination of Pennſylvania, if the northern confederacy includes New-Jerſey, there is no likelihood of more than one confederacy to the ſouth of that ſtate.

Nothing can be more evident than that the thirteen ſtates will be able to ſupport a national government, better than one half, or one third, or any number leſs than the whole. This reflection muſt have great weight in obviating that objection to the propoſed plan, which is founded on the principle of expence; an objection however, which, when we come to take a nearer view of it, will appear in every light to ſtand on miſtaken ground.

If, in addition to the conſideration of a plurality of civil liſts, we take into view the number of perſons who muſt neceſſarily be employed to guard the inland communication, between the different confederacies, againſt illicit trade, and who in time will infallibly ſpring up out of the neceſſities of revenue; and if we alſo take into view the military eſtabliſhments, which it has been ſhewn would unavoidably reſult from the jealouſies and conflicts of the ſeveral nations, into which the ſtates would be divided, we ſhall clearly diſcover, that a ſeparation would be not leſs injurious to the œconomy than to the tranquility, commerce, revenue and liberty of every part.

PUBLIUS.

From the CONNECTICUT COURANT, *of December* 24.

To the Honorable ELBRIDGE GERRY, Eſquire.

SIR,

WHEN a man in public life firſt deviates from the line of truth and rectitude, an uncommon degree of art and attention becomes neceſſary to ſecure him from detection. Duplicity of conduct in him requires more than double caution; a caution which his former habits of ſimplicity have never furniſhed him the means of calculating; and his firſt leap into the regions of treachery and falſehood is often as fatal to himſelf as it was deſigned to be to his country. Whether you and Mr. Maſon may be ranked in this claſs of tranſgreſſors, I pretend not to determine. Certain it is, that both your management and his, for a ſhort time before and after the riſing of the Fœderal Convention, impreſs us with a favorable opinion, that you are great novices in the arts of diſſimulation. A ſmall degree of forethought would have taught you both a much more ſucceſsful method of directing the rage of reſentment which you caught at the cloſe of the buſineſs at Philadelphia, than the one you took. You ought to have conſidered that you reſided in regions very diſtant from each other, where different parts were to be acted, and then made your *caſt* accordingly. Mr. Maſon was certainly wrong in telling the world that he acted a double part---he ought not to have publiſhed two ſets of *reaſons for his diſſent to the conſtitution. His New-England reaſons* would have come better from you. He ought to have contented himſelf with haranguing in the ſouthern ſtates, *that it was too popular, and was calculated too much for the advantage of the eaſtern ſtates.* At the ſame time you might have come on, and in the Coffee-houſe at New-York you might have found an excellent ſet of objections ready made to your hand; a ſet that with very little alteration would have exactly ſuited the latitude of New-England, the whole of which diſtrict ought moſt clearly to have been ſubmitted to your protection and patronage. A Lamb, a Willet, a Smith, a Clinton, a Yates, or any other gentleman whoſe ſalary is paid by the ſtate impoſt, as they had ſix months the ſtart of you in conſidering the ſubject, would have furniſhed you with a good diſcourſe upon the "*liberty of the preſs*" the "*bill of rights*," the "*blending of the executive and legiſlative*," "*internal taxation*," or any other topic which you did not happen to think of while in Convention.

It is evident that this mode of proceeding would have been well calculated for the ſecurity of Mr. Maſon; he there might have vented his ancient enmity againſt the independence of America, and his ſore mortification for the loſs of his favorite motion reſpecting the navigation act; and all under the maſk of ſentiments, which, with a proper caution in expreſſing them, might have gained many adherents in his own ſtate. But, although Mr. Maſon's conduct might have been eaſily guarded in this particular, your character would not have been entirely ſafe even with the precaution above-mentioned. Your policy, Sir, ought to have led you one ſtep farther back. You have been ſo precipitate and unwary in your proceedings, that it will be impoſſible to ſet you right, even in idea, without recurring to previous tranſactions, and recalling to your view the whole hiſtory of your conduct in the Convention, as well as the ſubſequent diſplay of patriotiſm contained in your publication. I undertake this buſineſs, not that I think it poſſible to help you out of your preſent embarraſſments; but, as thoſe tranſactions have evidently ſlipped your memory, the recollection of the blunder into which your inexperience has betrayed you, may be of eminent ſervice in forming future ſchemes of popularity, ſhould the public ever give you another opportunity to traduce and deceive them.

You will doubtleſs recollect the following ſtate of facts; if you do not, every member of the Convention will atteſt them---that almoſt the whole time during the ſitting of the Convention, and until the Conſtitution had received its preſent form, no man was more plauſible and conciliating upon every ſubject than Mr. Gerry---he was willing to ſacrifice every private feeling and opinion---to concede every ſtate intereſt that ſhould be in the leaſt incompatible with the moſt ſubſtantial and permanent ſyſtem of general government---that mutual conceſſion and unanimity were the whole burden of his ſong; and although he originated no ideas himſelf, yet there was nothing in the ſyſtem, as it now ſtands, to which he had the leaſt objection---indeed Mr. Gerry's conduct was agreeably ſurpriſing to all his acquaintance, and very unlike that turbulent obſtinacy of ſpirit which they had formerly affixed to his character. Thus ſtood Mr. Gerry; till, towards the cloſe of the buſineſs, he introduced a motion reſpecting the redemption of the old Continental Money---that it ſhould be placed upon a footing with other liquidated ſecurities of the United States. As Mr. Gerry was ſuppoſed to be poſſeſſed of large quantities of this ſpecies of paper, his motion appeared to be founded in ſuch barefaced ſelfiſhneſs and injuſtice, that it at once accounted for all his former plauſibility and conceſſion, while the rejection of it by the Convention inſpired its author with the utmoſt rage and intemperate oppoſition to the whole ſyſtem he had formerly praiſed. His reſentment could do no more than embarraſs and delay the completion of the buſineſs for a few days; when he refuſed ſigning the Conſtitution, and was called upon for his reaſons. Theſe reaſons were committed to writing by one of his colleagues, and likewiſe by the Secretary, as Mr. Gerry delivered them. Theſe reaſons were totally different from thoſe which he has publiſhed, neither was a ſingle objection which is contained in his letter to the legiſlature of Maſſachuſetts ever offered by him in convention.

Now, Mr. Gerry, as this is generally known to be the ſtate of facts, and as neither the reaſons which you publiſh nor thoſe retained on the Secretary's files can be ſuppoſed to have the leaſt affinity to truth, or to contain the real motives which induced you to withhold your name from the conſtitution, it appears to me that your plan was not judiciouſly contrived. When we act without principle, we ought to be prepared againſt embarraſſments. You might have expected ſome difficulties in realizing your continental money; indeed the chance was rather againſt your motion, even in the moſt artful ſhape in which it could have been propoſed. An experienced hand would therefore have laid the whole plan before-hand, and have guarded againſt a diſappointment. You ſhould have begun the buſineſs with doubts, and expreſſed your ſentiments with great ambiguity upon every ſubject as it paſſed. This method would have ſecured you many advantages. Your doubts and ambiguities, if artfully managed, might have paſſed, like thoſe of the Delphic Oracle, for wiſdom and deliberation; and at the cloſe of the buſineſs you might have acted either for or againſt the conſtitution, according to the ſucceſs of your motion, without appearing diſhoneſt or inconſiſtent with yourſelf. One further precaution would have brought you off clear. Inſtead of waiting till the Convention roſe, before you conſulted your friends at New-York, you ought to have applied to them at an earlier period, to know what objections you ſhould make. They could have inſtructed you as well in Auguſt as October. With theſe advantages you might have paſſed for a complete politician, and your duplicity might never have been detected.

The enemies of America have always been extremely unfortunate in concerting their meaſures. They have generally betrayed great ignorance of the true ſpirit and feeling of the country, and they have failed to act in concert with each other. This is uniformly conſpicuous, from the firſt Bute Parliament in London to the laſt Shays Parliament at Pelham. The conduct of the enemies of the new conſtitution compeers with that of the other enemies above mentioned only in two particulars, its *object* and its *tendency*. Its object was ſelf-intereſt built on the ruins of the country, and its tendency is the diſgrace of its authors, and the final proſperity of the ſame country they meant to depreſs. Whether the conſtitution will be adopted at the firſt trial in the conventions of nine ſtates is at preſent doubtful. It is certain, however, that its enemies have great difficulties to encounter, ariſing from their diſunion; in the different ſtates where the oppoſition rages the moſt, their principles are totally oppoſite to each other, and their objections diſcordant and irreconcilable; ſo that no regular ſyſtem can be formed among you, and you will betray each others motives.

In Maſſachuſetts the oppoſition began with you, and from motives moſt pitifully ſelfiſh and deſpicable; you addreſſed yourſelf to the feelings of the Shays faction, and that faction will be your only ſupport. In New-York the oppoſition is not to this conſtitution in particular, but to the fœderal impoſt; it is confined wholly to ſalary-men and their connexions, men whoſe ſalary is paid by the ſtate impoſt. This claſs of citizens are endeavouring to convince the ignorant part of the community that an annual income of fifty thouſand pounds, extorted from the citizens of Maſſachuſetts, Connecticut and New-Jerſey, is a great bleſſing to the ſtate of New-York. And although the regulation of trade, and other advantages of a federal government, would ſecure more than five times that ſum to the people of that ſtate, yet as this would not come through the ſame hands, theſe men find fault with the conſtitution. In Pennſylvania the old quarrel reſpecting their ſtate conſtitution has thrown the ſtate into parties for a number of years. One of theſe parties happened to declare for the new fœderal conſtitution, and this was a ſufficient motive for the other to oppoſe it; the diſpute there is not upon the merits of the ſubject, but it is their old warfare carried on with different weapons, and it was an even chance that the parties had taken different ſides from what they have taken, for there is no doubt but either party would ſacrifice the whole country to the deſtruction of their enemies.* In Virginia the oppoſition wholly originated in two principles; the madneſs of Maſon, and the enmity of the Lee faction to General Waſhington. Had the General not attended the Convention nor given his ſentiments reſpecting the conſtitution, the Lee party would undoubtedly have ſupported it, and Col. Maſon would have vented his rage to his own negroes and to the wind. In Connecticut, our wrongheads are few in number and feeble in their influence. The oppoſition here is not one half ſo great to the fœderal government, as it was three years ago to the fœderal impoſt; and the faction, ſuch as it is, is from the ſame blindfold party.

I thought it my duty to give you theſe articles of information, for the reaſons above mentioned. Wiſhing you more caution and better ſucceſs in your future manœuvres, I have the honor to be, Sir, with great reſpect, your very humble ſervant,

A LANDHOLDER.

* *The Writer (ſays a Pennſylvania Correſpondent) here appears to have wanted information. The fact is, the generality of the Republicans, and a majority of the Conſtitutionaliſts, are decidedly in favour of the new Conſtitution.*

NUMBER II.

To the MINORITY of the CONVENTION of *Pennſylvania.*

Gentlemen,

THE principal object of my laſt paper was to point out a variety of inſtances, in which *the agency and power of the ſtate governments* are abſolutely *neceſſary* to *the exiſtence* of civil ſociety, and to *the execution* of the fœderal conſtitution itſelf. I therein ſhewed that certain important matters, which muſt be done from time to time, cannot be attempted or performed by the general government. Here, then, we find, not only that the ſtate powers will not be annihilated, but that they are ſo requiſite to our ſyſtem, *that they cannot be diſpenſed with.*

Having ſeen what Congreſs *cannot do*, let us now proceed to examine what the ſtate governments *muſt or may do.*

Firſt, then, each ſtate can appoint every officer of its own militia, and can train the ſame, by which it will be ſure of a powerful military ſupport attached to, and even part of itſelf, wherein no citizen of any other ſtate can be a private centinel, much leſs have influence or command.

2dly. Every regulation relating to religion, or the property of religious bodies, muſt be made by the ſtate governments, ſince no powers affecting thoſe points are contained in the conſtitution.

3dly. The ſtate legiſlatures and conſtitutions muſt determine the qualifications of the electors for both branches of the fœderal government; and here let us remember to adhere firmly within our reſpective commonwealths to *genuine republican principles.* Wiſdom, on this point which lies entirely in our hands, will pervade the whole ſyſtem, and will *be a never failing antidote* to ariſtocracy, oligarchy and monarchy.

4thly. Regulating the law of deſcents, and forbidding the entail of landed eſtates, are excluſively in the power of the ſtate legiſlatures. A perfect equality, at leaſt among the males, and poſſibly among the females, ſhould be eſtabliſhed, not only in the firſt line of deſcent, but in the moſt remote collateral branches. If a man *omits* to make a will, the public ſhould diſtribute his property *equally* among thoſe who have *equal* pretenſions, and who are able to render *equal* ſervices to the community. By theſe means, poverty and extreme riches would be avoided, and a republican ſpirit would be given to our laws, not only without a violation of private rights, but conſiſtently with the principles of juſtice and ſound policy. This power, with that mentioned under the laſt head, if exerciſed with wiſdom and virtue, will preſerve the freedom of the ſtates beyond any other means.

5thly. The elections of the Preſident, Vice Preſident, Senators and Repreſentatives, are excluſively in the hands of the ſtates, even as to filling vacancies. The ſmalleſt interference of Congreſs is not permitted, either in preſcribing the qualifications of electors, or in determining what perſons may or may not be elected.

The clauſe which enables the fœderal legiſlature to make regulations on this head, permits them only to ſay at what time in the two years the houſe of repreſentatives ſhall be choſen, at what time in the ſix years the Senate ſhall be choſen, and at what time in the four years the Preſident ſhall be elected; but theſe elections, by other proviſions in the conſtitution, *muſt take place every two, four and ſix years*, as is declared in the ſeveral caſes reſpectively.

6thly. The ſtates elect, appoint and commiſſion all their own officers, without any poſſible interference of the fœderal government.

7thly. The ſtates can alter and amend their ſeveral conſtitutions, provided they do not make them ariſtocratical, oligarchic or monarchical---for the fœderal conſtitution reſtrains them from any alterations that are not *really republican.* That is, the ſovereignty of the people is never to be infringed or deſtroyed.

8thly. The ſtates have the power to erect corporations for literary, religious, commercial, or other purpoſes, which the fœderal government cannot prevent.

9thly. Every ſtate can always give its diſſent to fœderal bills, as each has *a vote* in the Senate ſecured by the conſtitution. Hence it appears, that the ſtate governments are not only intended to remain in force within their reſpective juriſdictions, but they are always to be known to, and have their voices, *as ſtates*, in the fœderal councils.

10thly. The ſtates not only elect all their own officers, but they have *a check*, by their delegates to the Senate, on the appointment of *all fœderal officers.*

11thly. The ſtates are to hold *ſeparate territorial rights*, and the domeſtic juriſdiction thereof, excluſively of any interference of the fœderal government.

12thly. The ſtates will regulate and adminiſter the criminal law, *excluſively of Congreſs*, ſo far as it regards *mala in ſe*, or real crimes; ſuch as murder, robbery, &c. They will alſo have a certain and large part of the juriſdiction, with reſpect to *mala prohibita*, or matters which are *forbidden* from political conſiderations, though not in themſelves immoral; ſuch as unlicenced public houſes, nuiſances, and many other things of the like nature.

13thly. The ſtates are to determine all the innumerable diſputes about property lying within their reſpective territories between their own citizens, ſuch as titles and boundaries of lands, debts by aſſumption, note, bond, or account, mercantile contracts, &c. *none of which can ever be cognizable by any department of the fœderal government.*

14thly. The ſeveral ſtates can create corporations civil and religious; prohibit or impoſe duties on the importation of ſlaves into their own ports; eſtabliſh ſeminaries of learning; erect boroughs, cities and counties; promote and eſtabliſh manufactures; open roads; clear rivers; cut canals; regulate deſcents and marriages; licence taverns; alter the criminal law; conſtitute new courts and offices; eſtabliſh ferries; erect public buildings; ſell, leaſe and appropriate the proceeds and rents of *their lands*, and of

every other ſpecies of *ſtate property*; eſtabliſh poor-houſes, hoſpitals, and houſes of employment; regulate the police; and many other things of the utmoſt importance to the happineſs of their reſpective citizens. In ſhort, beſides the particulars enumerated, every thing of a domeſtic nature muſt or can be done by them.

In addition to this enumeration of the powers and duties of the ſtate governments, we ſhall find many other inſtances under the conſtitution, which require or imply the exiſtence or continuance of the ſovereignty and ſeveralty of the ſtates.---The following are ſome of them:---

All proceſs againſt criminals and many other law proceedings will be brought by and run in the name of *that commonwealth*, in which the offence or event has taken place.

The ſenate will be repreſentatives of the ſeveral *ſtate ſovereignties*.

Every ſtate muſt ſend *its own* citizens to the ſenate and to the houſe of repreſentatives. No man can go thither, but from the ſtate of which he is a complete *citizen*, and to which, if they chooſe, he ſhall be *ſworn to be faithful*.

No ſtate ſhall on any pretence be without *an equal voice* in the ſenate.

Any ſtate may repel invaſions or *commence a war* under emergent circumſtances, without waiting for the conſent of Congreſs.

The electors of the Preſident and Vice-Preſident muſt not nominate more than one perſo *of the ſtate to which they belong*: ſo *careful* is the fœderal conſtitution *to preſerve the rights of the ſtates*.

In caſe of an equality of votes in the election of the Preſident or Vice-Preſident, a caſting voice is given to *the ſtates*, from a due attention to their *ſovereignty* in appointing the oſtenſible head of the fœderal government.

The Preſident of the United States may require written communications from *the governors of the ſtates*.

Proviſion is made for adjuſting differences between *two ſtates*---or *one ſtate* and the citizens of *another*. *New ſtates* may be admitted into *the union*. As all *the territory* of each ſtate is *already* in the *union*, it is clear that any diſtrict will ſtand on different ground *when erected into a ſtate*, from what it did when it compoſed a number of counties, or a part of an already exiſting member of the confederacy.

Two ſtates may not become *one* without the conſent of Congreſs, which proves clearly that the convention held *the ſeveralty* of the ſtates *neceſſary*. This is directly oppoſed to your idea, *that conſolidation was intended*. *Each ſtate* and the fœderal juſticiary are to give faith and credit to the records and proceedings of *every other ſtate*.

The ſtates have, in the fœderal conſtitution, a guarantee of *a ſeparate republican form of government*.

Two thirds of *the ſtates* in the propoſed confederacy can call a convention.

Three fourths of thoſe *ſtates* can alter the conſtitution.

From this examination of the propoſed conſtitution for the United States, I truſt it will appear, that though there are ſome parts of it, which, taken ſeparately, look a little like conſolidation, yet there are very many others of a nature, which proves, that no ſuch thing was intended, and that it cannot ever take place.

It is but ſince the middle of the preſent century, that the principles and practice of free governments have been well underſtood, political ſcience having been much ſlower in its progreſs than any other branch. Perhaps this has been cauſed by the greater degree of paſſion, to which, from its nature, this department of knowledge is ſubjected. The principles on which free ſovereignties ought to confederate is quite a new queſtion, and a new caſe. It is difficult to take it up at once in the proper way. One circumſtance has exceedingly obſcured the ſubject, and hid the truth from the eyes of many of us. Moſt of the ſtates being in the poſſeſſion of free governments, have looked for the ſame forms in *a confederating inſtrument*, which they have juſtly eſteemed in their ſeveral *ſocial compacts*. Recommending this diſtinction as neceſſary to be taken home to your minds when you examine the great ſubject before you, I ſhall ceaſe to treſpaſs on your time.

A FREEMAN.

Meſſrs. HALL & SELLERS,

IN the Freeman's Journal of Wedneſday laſt, there appeared a ſhort piece with the ſignature of "*A Baptiſt.*" The perſon, whoever he is, after many curious interrogations and anſwers annexed cloſes his performance by announcing *his* being terribly alarmed concerning *Religious Liberty*, provided the new conſtitution is adopted, which will, according to *him*, be immediately ſucceeded by an eſtabliſhment of *Epiſcopacy* throughout the United States, and the conſequent dominion of *Biſhops*, &c.---It is *much* doubted whether the writer of the ſaid piece is a *Baptiſt*; provided he is *not*, his aſſumption of the ſignature argues the baſeneſs of his mind, as he thereby impoſes on a reſpectable denomination of chriſtians, and aims at creating jealouſies againſt them in the breaſts of a very reputable part of the community; granting he is a *Baptiſt*, he diſcovers nearly the ſame degree of *baſeneſs*, as *he* muſt know, at leaſt *he* ought to know, that the *Baptiſts* as a *Society*, from eaſt to weſt and from north to ſouth, are FEDERAL; there are, it is confeſſed, individuals among them, who think *differently* from their Brethren in general on the important ſubject of the propoſed government; let them *ſo* think!---Is this a ſufficient reaſon why *they*, or the *writer* alluded to, ſhould artfully attempt to make the public believe, that the whole body are anti-federal? The public know better, witneſs an extract from the Philadelphian Aſſociation Letter, which was publiſhed in almoſt all the news-papers ſome time ago, and the late election of ſeveral Clergymen of the ſame perſuaſion, as members of *Convention* in and for the *State* of *Maſſachuſetts*! Even *now*, which may be relied on as matter of fact, the anti-federal *Great Men* of Virginia leave "no ſtone unturned" to curry favor with the *Baptiſts* in that commonwealth, in order that they may uſe their influence in oppoſition to a *Federal* Repreſentation in the enſuing Convention; WHY ſo? Becauſe the Baptiſts in Virginia are very numerous, and of courſe much depends on which ſide they take; that they *will* ſide and *do* fully agree with their Brethren of the northern ſtates, we are pretty well convinced of!---For what reaſon does this *fictitious* Baptiſt bring in the "Epiſcopal Church?" Surely the members of that reſpectable body will not think more lightly of the Baptiſts in general on account of the ill-founded ſuggeſtions of an anonymous ſcribbler! The Baptiſts labour under no apprehenſion whatever of the *Epiſcopalians* or any other ſociety becoming the Eſtabliſhed Religion of the land; as to *their* Biſhops, the Baptiſts readily acknowledge that the *Epiſcopalians* have an undoubted *right* equally with other denominations to procure in their own way and agreeably to their own wiſhes, whatever *officers* they deem neceſſary towards the complete organization of their *own* church! This reflection on the Epiſcopal Church, ſo replete with malevolence, amounts almoſt to a *full* proof that the writer alluded to is not what he ſtiles *himſelf*; if *he* is, let him reveal his name; *his* example ſhall be followed by the *perſon* who hath *haſtily* penned theſe animadverſions; if *he* is not, ſuch a diſcloſure cannot be expected, *he* muſt therefore be left to the *ſtings* of his own conſcience for the *fraudulent* aſſumption of ſuch a ſignature.---The ſame card which has been played off againſt the *Quakers* in repreſenting them as *anti-federal*, is now attempted againſt the *Baptiſts*, the event will *probably* be the ſame; the artifice and *low* cunning of ſuch violent partiſans will not add to *their ſtrength* a *ſingle* convert from either of *thoſe* ſocieties, which having in years paſt ſuffered together, *now* rejoice in the comfortable proſpect of a full and permanent enjoyment of *religious* freedom and all the RIGHTS OF CONSCIENCE.

A REAL BAPTIST.

NEW-YORK, January 24.

On the 9th inſt. the Maſſachuſetts ſtate convention convened at Boſton, and, after electing his Excellency John Hancock, Eſq; Preſident, and William Cuſhing, Eſq; Vice-Preſident, which occupied until the 14th inſt. they diſpoſed themſelves to enter, in order, upon the important buſineſs aſſigned them.

On the 14th inſt. the conſtitution, and the reſolves of the ſtate, authoriſing their delegates to ſit in fœderal convention, were ordered to be read, when,

On motion of Mr. Strong, Voted, That this convention, ſenſible how important it is that the great ſubject ſubmitted to their determination ſhould be diſcuſſed and conſidered with moderation, candour and deliberation, will enter into a free converſation on the ſeveral parts thereof, by paragraphs, until every member ſhall have had opportunity to expreſs his ſentiments of the ſame. After which the convention will conſider and debate at large the queſtion, whether this convention will adopt and ratify the propoſed conſtitution, before any vote is taken expreſſive of the ſenſe of the convention upon the whole or any part thereof.

A motion was made and ſeconded, that the Honorable Elbridge Gerry, Eſq; be requeſted to take a ſeat in convention, to anſwer any queſtions of fact from time to time that the convention may aſk, reſpecting the paſſing of the conſtitution.

Several other motions were made, of a like nature, which cauſed much debate, but finally the above was adopted.

A vote paſſed, and a committee was choſen, who waited on Mr. Gerry with this reſolve, which produced a letter from the honorable Elbridge Gerry, Eſq; informing that he would attend the convention, agreeable to their vote of yeſterday.

We find by the papers received laſt evening, that the debates were *tedious*, but intereſting, though few of them were inſerted, all upon the ſubject of the firſt ſection, viz. of *biennial* ELECTIONS. No judgement can yet be formed with reſpect to the *fate* of the conſtitution; that there is a great diviſion in the convention is evident.

Jan. 25. The Worceſter Magazine of laſt Thurſday ſays, "At preſent we cannot venture a conjecture of what will be the fate of the Fœderal Conſtitution in the Convention of this ſtate, now aſſembled in our metropolis: we have not the leaſt doubt but it will be thoroughly diſcuſſed: and we hope the arguments on both ſides will have a fair and candid hearing."

PHILADELPHIA, January 30.

A Boſton paper of the 15th inſtant ſays, "We are informed, by a veſſel arrived at Cape Ann, after a ſhort paſſage from Georgia, that that ſtate has ratified the Fœderal Conſtitution. This is a FIFTH PILLAR added to the glorious fabric. May MASSACHUSETTS add the SIXTH!

Extract of a letter from a mercantile houſe in Charleſton, South Carolina, to one in this city, dated the 12th inſtant.

"It gives us much pleaſure to adviſe you that the ſtate of Georgia have adopted the Fœderal Conſtitution; and have no doubt but ours will follow their example early in the ſpring"

The adoption of the propoſed Fœderal Government by the ſtate of Georgia, whoſe conſtitution, like that of Pennſylvania, veſts the legiſlative power in a ſingle Houſe, is a proof that another body of men, beſides the Majority of the Pennſylvania Convention, think, under the ſame kind of government, that the fœderal conſtitution ſhould be adopted. Georgia is a very riſing ſtate, poſſeſſing an extenſive territory, and is a great acquiſition to the new Confederacy. Live oak, red cedar, tobacco of an excellent quality, rice, indigo, furs, peltry, hides, hemp, cotton, and ſilk, are her moſt valuable productions:---An ineſtimable treaſure, whether we conſider them with regard to commerce, navigation, manufactures, or domeſtic conſumption.

It is curious, ſays a Correſpondent, to obſerve *the extreme ignorance*, or *the diſregard to truth*, diſcovered by certain violent opponents to the propoſed conſtitution. They aſſert that the Fœderaliſts are ſending orders to Europe for large quantities of powder and arms, when it is a well known fact, that powder is at a price below what it can be imported for, owing to the perfection of that manufacture,---and arms are to be bought in every ſeaport in the union for leſs than their firſt coſt in Europe.

Oligarchy, ſays a Correſpondent, or the domination of the Few over the Many, is evidently the deſire of the Oppoſition in Pennſylvania. This is a ſad degeneracy from a free and equal government. The ſame principle, purſued a little further, would lead us again under a Monarchy.

When Mr. F--dl-y (the moſt ſtrenuous opponent of the Conſtitution in the State Convention) propoſed in the General Aſſembly, that two thirds of the Convention ſhould be neceſſary to make a quorum, could any man have ſuppoſed, that he would have proteſted againſt an adoption by two entire thirds of the whole number of that Convention?----What can ſuch conduct mean? --and when can it be expected that ſuch objectors will be ſatisfied?----Never, it is to be feared, till the yoke of the Few is fixed on the neckt of the Many.

The Hon. Samuel Johnſton, Eſq; is appointed governor of the ſtate of North-Carolina.

At a meeting of a number of reſpectable inhabitants of the ſecond election diſtrict, in the county of Northampton, held at the town of Northampton the firſt day of January, 1788,

PETER RHOADS, Eſq; was choſen Chairman.

THE Conſtitution propoſed for the government of the United States by the late Fœderal Convention held at Philadelphia, and the report of the Honorable the Deputies from this county in the State Convention to the people thereof, were read.

On conſideration, it was *unanimouſly Reſolved*,

1ſt. That it is of the greateſt importance to the good people of theſe ſtates, that the United States in Congreſs aſſembled be veſted with all the neceſſary powers of a free and ſovereign people, in order to command reſpect with foreign nations, and keep domeſtic peace and good order among theſe ſtates, and the citizens thereof.

2dly. That we are fully convinced the propoſed conſtitution (wiſely built on the grand foundation of free government, the ſovereignty of the people) will effect theſe ineſtimable national bleſſings.

3dly. That this meeting highly approves of the conduct of the Honorable the Deputies from this county in the late State Convention, in aſſenting to the ratification of the ſaid Fœderal Conſtitution.

4thly. That the proceedings of this meeting be publiſhed in one or more of the news-papers in this ſtate.

Signed, by order of the meeting,

PETER RHOADS, Chairman.

Philadelphia, January 17, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of levari facias to me directed, will be expoſed to Sale by Public Vendue, at the Old Coffee Houſe, in the city of Philadelphia, on Wedneſday, the 30th inſtant, at ſix o'clock in the evening, Two certain Brick Meſſuages or Tenements, each three ſtories high, and a Lot or Piece of Ground, ſituate on the eaſt ſide of Delaware Front-ſtreet continued, in the Northern-liberties of the city of Philadelphia; containing in breadth on the ſaid ſtreet 45 feet 9 inches, (including part of an alley between this lot and George Emlen's ground) and in breadth on Oak-ſtreet 45 feet 7 inches and an half, and in length or depth on the north ſide thereof 169 feet 2 inches, and in length on the ſouth ſide thereof about 169 feet, bounded on the north by ground late of George Emlen, deceaſed, on the eaſt with Oak-ſtreet, on the ſouth with a meſſuage and lot late of Ephraim Doan, deceaſed, and on the weſt by Front-ſtreet aforeſaid.

Alſo all that wooden frame ſtore, wharf, and water lot of ground, ſituate on the eaſt ſide of Oak-ſtreet, in the Northern-Liberties aforeſaid, containing in breadth on the ſaid Oak-ſtreet 93 feet 7 inches and an half, and in length 150 feet (to Fleet-ſtreet 50 feet wide) and from thence croſſing the ſame into the river Delaware, bounded on the eaſt with the river Delaware, on the weſt by Oak-ſtreet, on the north by ground late of George Emlen, deceaſed, and on the ſouth by ground formerly of Thomas Williams.

Alſo a yearly rent charge of 9l. 12s. iſſuing out of a lot of ground in the Northern-Liberties aforeſaid, late in the tenure of Edward Wells.

One other yearly rent charge of 9l. 12s. iſſuing out of a lot of ground in the Northern-Liberties aforeſaid, in the tenure of Jacob Van Sciver.

And one other yearly rent charge of 9l. 12s. iſſuing out of a lot of ground in the Northern-Liberties aforeſaid, late in the tenure of Ephraim Doan, deceaſed; taken in execution as late the eſtate of Richard Maſon, (and Elizabeth his wife) and to be ſold by

JOSEPH COWPERTHWAIT, Sheriff.

Philadelphia, January 17, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of venditioni exponas to me directed, will be expoſed to Sale by Public Vendue, at the Coffee Houſe, in the city of Philadelphia, on Wedneſday, the 30th inſtant, at ſix o'clock in the evening, a certain annuity or yearly rent charge of 7l. lawful money of Pennſylvania, payable and iſſuing out of a certain Lot or Piece of Ground ſituate in the Northern-Liberties of the city of Philadelphia, containing in breadth on the weſt ſide of Second ſtreet, continued northward beyond the city of Philadelphia, 20 feet, and in length or depth 210 feet, to a certain ſtreet called St. John's-ſtreet; bounded on the eaſt by Second-ſtreet continued as aforeſaid, on the north and ſouth by other ground now or late of William Coates, and on the weſt by St. John's-ſtreet aforeſaid.

Alſo one other annuity or yearly rent charge of 3l. 10s. lawful money aforeſaid (payable on the firſt day of October, yearly, forever) iſſuing out of a lot or piece of ground, ſituate in the Northern-Liberties aforeſaid, on the weſt ſide of Third-ſtreet, continued northward beyond the city of Philadelphia containing in breadth, north and ſouth, 20 feet, and in length or depth 215 feet; bounded northward by ground of William Humphreys, eaſtward by Third-ſtreet, ſouthward by Joſeph Cannons's ground, and weſtward by a 40 feet alley, extending from Brown-ſtreet to Poplar lane, having the free uſe and privilege of ſaid 40 feet alley: Taken in execution as the property of William Coates, Eſq; and to be ſold by JOSEPH COWPERTHWAIT, Sheriff.

Juſt Publiſhed, and to be Sold by

THOMAS DOBSON and WILLIAM YOUNG, in Second-ſtreet, and JOSEPH CRUKSHANK, in Market-ſtreet.

CONDUCTOR GENERALIS:

OR THE

OFFICE, DUTY *and* AUTHORITY

OF

JUSTICES OF THE PEACE,

High-Sheriffs, Under-Sheriffs, Coroners, Conſtables, Goalers, Jury-Men, and Overſeers of the Poor.

AS ALSO

The OFFICE *of* CLERK *of* ASSIZE *and of the* PEACE, &c.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

Several choice MAXIMS in LAW, &c.

Compiled chiefly from *Burn's Juſtice* and the ſeveral other books on thoſe ſubjects.

By JAMES PARKER, Eſquire, *late* Juſtice *of the* Peace *in Middleſex county New Jerſey.*

Adapted to theſe United States.

The whole Alphabetically digeſted under the ſeveral titles; with a Table, directing to the ready finding out the proper matter under thoſe titles---*Neatly bound*; *Price* 11s 3d

*** This Book is highly eſteemed, and very neceſſary for gentlemen in the commiſſion of the peace; likewiſe for every other perſon, who would wiſh to be acquainted with the laws of the land we live in.

At the above Stores alſo may be had juſt Publiſhed,

Newton's Diſſertations on the Prophecies, 2 vols. 20s.

Edwards's Hiſtory of Redemption, 10s.

Edwards on Religious Affections, 10s.

New-Caſtle, January 8, 1788.

For Sale by Public Auction,

THE real eſtate late of JOHN VAN GEZELL, deceaſed; ſituate in the town of New-Caſtle, in the Delaware ſtate, conſiſting of a Brick Meſſuage and Lot of Ground, where the ſaid deceaſed had lived, on the north-weſt ſide of Front or Water-ſtreet. A large unimproved Lot, adjacent to the aforeſaid meſſuage on the ſouth-weſterly ſide thereof, extending from Front-ſtreet to the market ſquare. Two other Brick Meſſuages occupied together, and their Lots, extending into the river Delaware, now in the tenure of Gunning Bedford, Eſquire, the beſt ſituation in the town for erecting a wharff upon. One other Brick Meſſuage and Lot, on the ſouth-ſide of the ſtreet leading from the Court-houſe to the river, in the tenure of Mr. Yeates. One Frame Meſſuage and its Lot, in the tenure of Capt. Webb, adjoining the next preceding lot; and a graſs Lot, containing between 4 and 5 acres, lying on the back ſtreet of the ſaid town and the road leading thereout towards Chriſtiana bridge, in the tenure of Mr. Lyon. The ſale aforeſaid to be made by the ſubſcriber, as executor of the deceaſed, in purſuance of his laſt will, on Tueſday, the 19th of February next, in the town of New-Caſtle, for the payment of the deceaſed's debts; on which day his creditors or their agents are requeſted to attend, (as the executor is apprehenſive that the whole of the property of the ſaid deceaſed may not, in the preſent ſcarcity of caſh, ſell for ſufficient to pay the debts, unleſs a credit ſhall be given to the purchaſers for the greater part of the purchaſe monies, and this the principal creditors of the deceaſed ſhould aſſent unto.) All ſuch creditors as have not tranſmitted a ſtate of their demands to the executor, are requeſted ſo to do before the ſaid day of ſale, to enable him to adjuſt the ſame for due order of payment.

GEORGE READ.

Agreeable to the laſt will and teſtament of WILLIAM PEARCE *deceaſed, and by virtue of a decree of the Court of Chancery, Will be expoſed to Public Sale, on the 8th day of February next, upon the premiſes,*

TWO Valuable Tracts of LAND, adjoining, ſuppoſed to contain 326 acres, lying on Langford's Bay, Kent county, Maryland, and about five miles from Cheſter-Town. Attendance will be given, and the terms made known, by

¶2w. HENRY WARD PEARCE, Adminiſtrator.

January 8th, 1788

Evesham township, Burlington county, Jan. 28 1788.

THREE POUNDS Reward.

RAN away, this morning, from the ſubſcriber, an apprentice lad, named JOHN WHITECRAFT, about 19 years of age, of a ſandy complexion, freckled in the face; had on and took with him, a fuſtian coatee, jacket and overalls, a new roun hat, a pair of woollen trowſers, two jackets, one nap, the other coarſe cloth of a light colour, two pair of ſtockings, one white, the other blue. Whoever takes up and ſecures ſaid apprentice, ſo that his maſter may get him again, ſhall have the above reward, paid by

WILLIAM SHARP.

TO BE LET,

And may be entered upon the 1st of April next,

A VERY valuable and well situated MERCHANT-MILL, in Upper Dublin township, Montgomery county, and state of Pennsylvania, near Germantown great road, and about 15 miles from Philadelphia. The said mill is on a never failing stream of water, generally known by the name of Wissahickon creek, is very conveniently built, and in exceeding good repair, has two pair of stones one of which are burs, lately fitted up in the best order for merchandising; together with a wind-mill, and new boulting cloths of the first quality. Said mill is conveniently situated to an exceeding good run of wheat, together with a vast run of country business. Also a valuable FARM adjoining the same, containing 125 acres of land, about 40 acres of which is good meadow ground, and a great part of the rest good arable land, all well watered; whereon is a good two story stone dwelling house and a large kitchen adjoining the same, a well of good water, a good bearing orchard, barn, stable and other out houses, conveniently situated for carrying on the business of the same. The whole will be let together, or separate. Any person or persons inclining to rent or treat about the same, may be informed, by applying to the subscriber near the premises.

Jan. 14, 1788. † JACOB REIFF, jun.

To be SOLD at private Sale,

A LARGE commodious HOUSE, situate in Darby, next door to the Ship Tavern towards Philadelphia, very convenient for a large family, a good stand for a store, or for a tradesman that works in the house; there are four good rooms on each of the two first floors, and two ditto in the garret, all of them cieled, with a good cellar under it, also a pump at the kitchen door. The lot it stands on is 50 feet wide and about 400 deep with a barn and a number of fruit trees.

Also to be sold, another adjoining it, with two rooms on a floor, and a good cellar. The lot is 50 feet front and 400 in depth, with a stable on it, and a variety of fruit trees. Any person inclining to purchase, may know the terms by applying to JESSE SHARPLESS, at the corner of Chestnut and Third-streets, Philadelphia. If not sold, it will be to be rented, and may be entered on the 1st day of April next. The terms will be made easy to the purchaser. §

Philadelphia, January 17, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Levari Facias to me directed, will be exposed to Sale by public vendue, at the house of William Lesher, in Germantown, on Saturday, the 2d day of February next, at two o'clock in the afternoon, A certain two story stone messuage, two story stone shop and two lots of ground (lying contiguous to and along side of each other) thereunto belonging, situate and being in Germantown, in the county of Philadelphia, on the south-west side of the main street thereof, each lot being 30 feet front on the said main street, and 217 feet in length or depth from said main street south-westward; bounded north-eastward by the said main street, south-eastward by a lot in the tenure of Henry Earnst, south-westward by a lot now or late Edward Shippen's, and north-westward by a lot now in the possession of Joseph Shippen. Taken in execution as late the estate of John David Seifernheldt, deceased, and Barbara his widow, and to be sold, by JOSEPH COWPERTHWAIT, Sheriff.

Doctor HILL's *American Balsam*,

IS to be sold in Philadelphia, by Mr. William Poyntell, at his store, the corner of Black Horse alley, in Second-street, also by Mr. George Reinholt, in Market-street, the second door above Fifth-street; by Mr. Steiner, at the German printing office, in Race-street; at Germantown, by Mr. Justus Fox; at Lancaster, by Ludwick Lawman, Esq; at New-York, by Hugh Gaine; and by the subscriber, at her place in Blockley, price six shillings and six-pence a bottle, and by the dozen six shillings a bottle.

This Balsam is now upwards of 20 years so well known in America that it is a most effectual and infallible medicine for colds, coughs and asthmas; it gives great relief in the most painful rheumatism, in cholics, gravel and consumption; it is a most excellent cure in the whooping cough, and in most all the disorders and sicknesses of chilren, and for many other diseases, as may be seen in the printed direction in English and German on each bottle. In old diseases of long standing, it will be necessary to continue the use of this healing balsam for a reasonable time, by more than one single bottle, and then they may expect relief from this, as thousands of people can testify who have tried other things without success; there are indeed several balsams and preparations of medicine, which gives sometimes present relief for a short time in many disorders, but soon after returns more furious than before, but this American balsam performed perfect and effectual cures; its fame is spread most every where, it is almost inconceivable to hear what surprising cures this balsam has performed with people who have tried and experienced its wonderful effects: Each bottle is sealed up with the representation of a certain plant in a heart, and if any balsam under this name should be sold in any other place not mentioned in my advertisements, the public may be assured it is not Dr. Hill's balsam, but counterfeit, because no other person is able to prepare the genuine balsam, for want of the principal ingredients of which Dr. Hill's American balsam is composed.

Since the former proprietors are deceased, both William Young, junior and senior, therefore the present is a sister to William Young, jun. botanist. ¶ CHRISTIANA LEECH.

THE ACTING COMMITTEE of the Society for alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons, visiting agreeable to their appointment, the Goal and Work-house of this city, have frequently wished that the funds of their institution would allow them to supply the *unhappy beings*, there confined, with suitable cloathing during this inclement season; but as this is altogether out of their power, they find themselves under the necessity of calling on their fellow citizens to afford all possible relief in this particular.---Any old blankets, shoes, stockings, mens and womens apparel, will be highly acceptable: such articles looked up, and forwarded to Mrs. *Richards*, at the Work-house, will be duly administered to the *wretched* and *suffering* prisoners. The Committee mean not to enlarge; they flatter themselves the inhabitants of the city and liberties of Philadelphia, will, readily, out of their abundance, spare a little to *cloath* the *naked*, as they have already contributed toward *feeding* the *hungry*: and thus shall the blessing of *many*, *ready to perish*, alight on the heads of their *humane* and *generous Benefactors*.

William Rogers,
John Morrison,
Benjamin Thaw,
John Kaighn,
Francis Bailey,
Jeremiah Fisher.
} Acting Committee.

Philadelphia, Jan. 12, 1788.

CAME to the plantation of the subscriber, living in Tredyffrin township, Chester county, Pennsylvania, about the beginning of December last, a small sorrel MARE, supposed to be ten or eleven years old, neither brand nor ear mark perceived. The owner is desired to come, prove property, pay charges and take her away. § RICHARD MILES.

WHITE and PATTON, Merchants of this city, late Copartners in Trade, having assigned to us, the subscribers, all the estate, rights, credits and effects of said copartnership, and impowered us to demand and receive payment of and from all persons indebted to the copartnership aforesaid. The debtors are hereby notified, that unless they respectively do pay or secure the payment in three months from the date hereof, they will be proceeded against according to law, without respect to persons.

ABEL JAMES, } Assignees.
Jan. 11, 1788. STEPHEN COLLINS, }

TO THE PUBLIC.

BY virtue of the authority vested in us, the subscribers, as Auditors appointed by the court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia county, in a certain domestic attachment therein pending, wherein Jacob Benner the elder and Jacob Benner the younger, executors of George Benner, deceased, are plaintiffs, against Edward M'Keggan, defendant, there will be Sold at public Vendue, at the Old Coffee-House, in the city of Philadelphia, on Wednesday, the 13th day of February next, at six o'clock in the evening, for the benefit of the said Edward M'Keggan's creditors, a certain two story BRICK HOUSE, with the LOT of GROUND whereon the same is erected, situate on the east side of Third-street from Delaware, in the said city, at the distance of 48 feet to the northward of Union-street, containing in front on Third-street 16 feet, and in length or depth 56 feet 6 inches, with the privilege of an alley of three and an half feet in width leading from Union-street.

The purchase money of the Ground on which the house stands, amounting to £ 175, with interest thereon from the 19th of March 1782, have not yet been paid, but the owner of the ground will deliver the deed, as soon as his demand is discharged.

The House is convenient, has a genteel appearance, and its situation pleasant and agreeable. Attendance will be given by the subscribers,

JOHN BROWNE,
JAMES ASH,
THOMAS BRITTON.

Philadelphia county,
Jan. 9, 1788.

Bucks County, January 9, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Venditioni Exponas, to me directed, will be exposed to public sale, on Thursday, the 31st inst. at the house of George Piper, inn keeper, in Bedminster township, at two o'clock in the afternoon, A certain Messuage and Tract of Land, situate in Plumstead township, containing about 118 acres; bounded by land of Adam Finsman, land late of Josiah Ferguson, and others; late the property of John Foreman; taken in execution, and to be sold by

¶ WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

Bucks county, January 9, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Venditioni Exponas, to me directed, will be exposed to public sale, on Tuesday, the 5th of February next, at the house of Paul Samsel, inn keeper, in Milford township, at two o'clock in the afternoon, A certain Messuage and Tract of Land, situate in Milford aforesaid, containing about 45 acres, be the same more or less; taken in execution as the property of Betty Thomas, and to be sold by

¶ WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

Bucks county, January 9, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Levari Facias, to me directed, will be exposed to public sale, on Saturday, the 9th of February next, at the house of Samuel Flack, inn keeper, in Warwick township, at two o'clock in the afternoon, A certain Messuage and Tract of Land, situate in Plumstead township, containing about 17 acres and 115 perches, bounded by lands of Matthew Day, Edward Good, Christian Overholtz, and others; taken in execution as the property of Jacob Glause, and to be sold by

¶ WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

Bucks county, January 9, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Venditioni Exponas, to me directed, will be exposed to public sale, at the house of Samuel Flack, inn-keeper, in Warwick township, on Saturday, the 9th of February next, at two o'clock in the afternoon, A certain Plantation or Tract of Land, situate in Plumstead township, containing about 90 acres, be the same more or less; bounded by lands of John Dyer, Thomas Dyer, Thomas Wright, and others; late the property of Josiah Dyer, deceased; taken in execution, and to be sold by ¶ WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

Bucks county, January 9, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Levari Facias, to me directed, will be exposed to public sale, on Monday, the 11th of February next, at two o'clock in the afternoon, at the Court-house in Newtown, Two Lots of Land in Newtown aforesaid, containing in the whole about six acres; the soil is of the best quality, and several dwelling-houses are erected on the lots, one of which is occupied as an Inn, and is well situated for the same; there are also barns, stables and other necessary out buildings, so as to render them very valuable and convenient; all late the property of Deborah Sedons, deceased, and to be sold by

¶ WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

TO BE SOLD,
Or Let on Improving Leases,

A BODY of very valuable Farming LANDS in Northampton county, Pennsylvania, 5 or 6 miles from the New-York line, beginning on the head waters of Shohocking creek, about four miles from the river Delaware, and extending south-westerly about three miles, when the course of the lands turns from the south, and runs nearly due west. The northernmost waters of the Equinunk touch two of the southernmost lots. There is an ample quantity of grass and meadow ground to each tract, and they are well timbered with beech, sugar maple, birch, ash, &c. The quality of these lands is in many instances very fine, and they will all make very good farms. Their produce will in a short time be got to market on easy terms, from the improvement of the navigation of the Delaware, and of the Susquehannah, a stream of which rises in the western part of the tracts, and runs northerly into that river at the Great Bend. The distance from Easton is about 80 miles. They have the advantage of most of the unimproved lands now offering for sale or lease, in being very near to thick settlements that lie eastward and southward of them, and in having the settlements on the Susquehannah in New-York and Pennsylvania, with that river itself, to defend them from the Indians, if any disturbances should take place. The twenty-three townships granted lately by New-York to Massachusetts lie on the north-west, and run nearly west of them to a great distance. As there is every reason to expect those townships will have several hundred families on them in the course of 1788, they will form a frontier for the lands now offered. For terms, apply to CHARLES COXE, Esq; Kingwood, Hunterdon county New-Jersey, GEORGE PALMER, Esq; Moore township, Northampton county, Captain WILLIAM CRAIG, Easton (who have actual surveys of the lands,) or in Philadelphia, to ctIM TENCH COXE,

Chestnut-street, Jan. 9, 1788. N. FRAZIER.

This Day is published,
BY M. CAREY,
IN MARKET STREET,
The *American Museum*,
FOR DECEMBER, 1787.

Being the fifth and last number of the second volume; containing a General Title---an Index---and a Chronicle, or Summary of the most remarkable Events of the months of July, August, September, October, November, and December.

THE PRINTER begs leave, once more, to remind those of his subscribers who have not yet paid their first or second half year's subscription, that the very great expence of the MUSEUM renders a punctual compliance with that part of the terms which relates to the time of payment indispenfibly necessary to carry on the work. They may rest assured that their non-performance has in this respect already more than once rendered its continuance problematical----nor has the danger been escaped without the utmost difficulty. Were the work dear, or were it useless, perhaps some plea might be suggested for inattention---- But as it stands confessed one of the cheapest periodical publications extant---and as its utility is universally admitted, it might be expected that a punctual and exact payment would enable the proprietor to conduct it in the extensive and satisfactory manner he proposed, instead of involving him in unworthy difficulties.

He here begs leave to make a short extract from the preface to the July Museum:----

"After a careful examination of the various shoals on which "periodical publications have been wrecked, in this and other "countries, I am in dread of only one, which I am almost "ashamed to intimate---but which, justice to myself, as well as "a sincere desire, by insuring stability to this work, to be as far "serviceable to the community, of which I have the honor to be "a member, as my feeble talents and my situation will admit, "forbid me to pass over in silence. This shoal, the danger of "which I deprecate, is the want of a due punctuality in paying "the subscriptions. These being small, each individual is but "too apt to suppose it a matter of great indifference whether he "pays *his* quota at the time appointed, or in six or twelve months "afterwards. This is a great mistake: For let it be observed, "that the aggregate of these sums (however trivial and insignificant each may be, taken separately) is the only fund for defraying the great and inevitable expences of the undertaking. "These cannot be deferred. They are all payable in ready money: and it would but ill saitsfy the paper-maker and journeyman printer, &c. &c. to tell them, when money was due to "them, that I could *not* pay it;---that I *expected* money from "my subscribers in two, three, or four months;---and that I "should *then* pay them. If I told them such a Canterbury tale, "I need *not expect* any more of their services. It is, further, to "be observed, that the expence of sending twice, thrice, or, as "is often the case, four times for the amount of a subscription, "bears no small proportion to the sum received. After this explanation, it must be unnecessary to request of those subscribers, "who wish success to the Museum, or desire its proprietor may "receive the reward of his earnest endeavours to gratify them, "that they will, at the completion of each volume, renew their "subscription for the succeeding one. Those gentlemen, who, "agreeably to the original plan, have already done this, are entitled to my thanks."

Those gentlemen, who have taken subscription papers, are requested to forward them to the printing-office before the 13th of January, 1788, as the list of subscribers, intended to be prefixed to the third volume, will be put to press about that time.

†§† The subscription is 18s. per annum--One half of which is to be paid at the time of subscribing, and the same sum at the commencement of every succeeding volume.

*** Seasonable country produce will be received in payment.

Philadelphia, January 1, 1788.

Chester county, December 26, 1787.

BY virtue of a writ of Levari Facias, and sundry writs of Fieri Facias, to me directed, will be exposed to public sale, on the premises, at the house of the Widow Keyser, in Upper Chichester township, on Thursday, the 31st day of January next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, A messuage and two tracts of land, one containing 90 acres, and the other 11 acres and an half, bounded by lands of Mary Norris, Henry Hale Graham, Esq; Jacob Richards and Robert Robinson, lying within two miles of Chester, and three from Marcus-Hook; and at the same time and place will be sold, horses, cows, sheep and swine, a waggon and geers, plough and harrow, &c. &c. the whole taken in execution as the estates real and personal of William Keyser, deceased, and to be sold, by ¶ EZEKIEL LEONARD, Sheriff.

Chester county, December 26, 1787.

BY virtue of a writ of Levari Facias, to me directed, will be exposed to public sale, on Saturday, the 2d day of February next, at one o'clock in the afternoon, at Joseph Gibbon's tavern, in Springfield township, in the said county. A certain stone messuage or tenement, plantation and tract of land thereunto belonging, situate in Springfield aforesaid, containing 111 acres and three quarters, bounded by Crum creek, and by lands of James Crozer, John Crozer, Job Dicks, Joseph Gibbon, &c. on which premises is a good stone spring-house, over a never-failing spring of water, and sundry other buildings; this plantation is conveniently situated for a store, or any kind of public business, as it lies at the junction of three very public roads; late the estate of Jane Tennant, deceased; seized and taken in execution, by

† EZEKIEL LEONARD, Sheriff.

FOUR PENCE Reward.

RAN away from the subscriber, living in Southampton township, Bucks county, on the 21st day of December last, an indented servant man, named William Hopper, near 21 years of age, has four months and eleven days to serve, black hair and black eyes, about 5 feet 8 inches high, well made; had on when he went away, a grey coloured upper jacket, a swanskin under ditto, old leather breeches, old shoes, with odd buckles, a castor hat. Whoever takes up the said servant, and brings him home to his master, shall be paid the above reward, and their labour or their pains, by § LEONARD KROESEN.

Ridley township, Chester county, Dec. 20, 1787.

TAKEN trespassing on the subscriber's inclosure, two MARES, supposed to be about three years old, near 14 hands high; the one a sorrel, has no perceivable mark; the other a black, with a star in her forehead. The owner or owners, proving property and paying charges, may have them again, by applying to † JOHN NOBLIT.

Was found November 9, 1787, on the Egypt Road,

A Lady's TIPPET.

Whoever has lost the same, by applying to the Printers, and paying the expence of this advertisement, may have it again.

PHILADELPHIA: Printed by HALL and SELLERS, at the NEW-PRINTING OFFICE, near the MARKET.